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A
CONSTITUENT'S
ANSWER
TO THE
REFLEXIONS
OF A
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.



(Price One Shilling.)

1.

Reflections

CONSTITUTION
AND
REFLECTIONS



OF A

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

(Price One Shilling.)

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CONSTITUENT'S
ANSWER

TO THE *& Reflections*
REFLEXIONS
OF A

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

UPON THE
Present State of AFFAIRS

At HOME and ABROAD;

Particularly with Regard to

Subsidies and the Differences between
GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE.

Men of sound Sense will beware, that there are
those who are equal to themselves, that watch
their Steps.

Marq. of HALLIFAX's Max.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JACOB ROBINSON at the Golden Lyon
in Ludgate-street; and sold by all the Book-
sellers of London and Westminster.

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Man of HALF A CROWN's Mark.

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S I R,

THE Receipt of your Letter has thrown our Borough into the utmost Astonishment. The Character you assume therein is so inconsistent with that of a *wise* and *good* Senator ; and so contradictory to those Declarations, which engaged your Constituents to trust you with their Liberties, that no-

B

thing,

thing, but your present Conduct, could persuade us to believe you to be the Author of those *Reflexions*; which if they contain any thing more than a Chain of Fallacy and Flattery to the Schemer of the worst of Measures, *reflect* the most despicable Idea of your Wisdom and Integrity.

If we had made Merchandise of our Votes; if we had prostituted our Right of chusing a Representative to a Bribe, the Idol of a slavish Spirit; our corrupt Conduct might have prompted you to suppose we should tamely yield to your Dictates, and permit you unnotic'd, to make the best Market of what you had bought.

But; Did not we elect you upon Principles of Freedom? Did not we generously return you to the Senate without the Incumbrances of the modern Expences at Elections? Have not we thereby preserved an Independency and a Right to exact a Reason from our Representative for his Conduct in all Affairs, where our own and the public Good is concerned? And could it be thought that a Gentleman,

man, whose former Declarations in behalf of Liberty; and whose free Election promised the greatest Honour to his Constituents, and Satisfaction to every Well-wisher to our Country, was capable of entering into such Measures, which you fallaciously defend in your Letter; and of invading our natural and legal Right to instruct our Representatives in Parliament in all arduous Cases, especially in *such a Conjunction of Affairs, so very critical, as perhaps not to be paralleled in any Period of the History of Europe.*

This Borough, detach'd from all Influence, that injures the national Constitution, cast their Eyes, as they thought, upon an Orator strongly attach'd to the true Interest of his Country; upon a Member that would never rebel against the Head; upon a Guardian, that would oppose all Measures tending to the Dishonour of the Crown, and Ruin of the People. But as we are the deceived Electors of a Member who appears in the Defence of foreign subsidiary Armies,

mies, and a War upon the Continent, which we apprehend to be Measures incompatible with the present Interest of *Great Britain*; and propagates that dangerous Doctrine, That a *Member is not accountable to his Constituents for his Conduct in Parliament*; it is necessary we should exculpate ourselves for so bad a Choice,

Had you, Sir, open'd, at your Application to this Borough, with a Recapitulation of your *unaccountable and inconsistent* Conduct in Parliament, no Weight of Interest, or Power of Gold, could have secur'd you a Place in our Name. A Member, that confesses himself wicked enough to *enlist himself into an Opposition to ALL Measures*, could have found no Admission to the Affections of a People, whose Glory is to promote every salutary Motion for the public Advantage; and to oppose such Measures only, as manifestly tend to the Injury of the Liberty or Property of the People; and to the Dishonour of the Crown. The Duty of a Member of Parliament

liament is to give Advice to the Sovereign for the public Safety ; to carry up to the Throne the Complaints of the Subjects to be redressed ; to strengthen the Hands of Majesty against our Enemies, and to preserve a just Medium between Liberty and Prerogative.

Your Reason for that *indiscriminate Opposition* might be admitted, where the People are wicked or weak enough to allow the jesuitical Doctrine of doing Evil for a good End : But in a Senate, where every Opposition to a good Measure is sapping the Foundation of Government, and joining with the Enemies of our Constitution, there can be no Justification for an *indiscriminate Opposition* to ALL Measures. When *Party* breaks through the Fence of *Justice*, and *indiscriminately* opposes the good as well as the iniquitous Measures of a Ministry, it degenerates into *Faction*. They that contend not for the public Good, but only for Power, and perhaps, for such a Power, as to enslave the People, and controul Majesty itself, are not worthy of

of a Seat among the Guardians of Liberty. And, Sir, if these were your *first Principles*; I dare say, they will never more recommend you to our Favour; nor to the Favour of any good Subject.

It is no Excuse for a Senator to plead a personal Hatred to the Minister: and that the Opposition *ceased the Moment he was removed from his Power*. Does the Equity or Iniquity of a Measure depend upon the Means of its Appearance to the Public, or on the End proposed? Many a Traitor is the Parent of a faithful Subject. But it is most dangerous to trust a Man with the public Interest, who, to satisfy his own Passions, is ready to sacrifice his King and Country: which must be the Case where an *indiscriminate Opposition*, founded upon personal Hatred to a Minister, frustrates, or greatly embarrasses every laudable Motion and Scheme for the public Safety.

This

This is so self-evident, that you seem to confess it by your next Declaration, That, upon the Removal of the Object of your Hatred, you enter'd *that Moment into an Opposition to Measures only*. To what? If I conceive your Meaning right, you are not quite sure; You say, *It was, TO ALL APPEARANCE, to Measures only*. You then certainly had some *other* Object for your new Opposition that did not appear. Speak the Truth. Was there not some of the old Leaven remaining? Did not you *bate* the new Minister also? Did not you endeavour to harangue yourself into Power? Was not you ready to run any Lengths that could gratify your Ambition, and remove the Bar to your Aspirings?

What Grounds had you for this new Opposition? none at all. — Your *Handle* for it was only *plausible*, pick'd out of some *Incidents* that happen'd in the Beginning of the *late War*. And the End proposed by it, is no less extraordinary than the rest of your
Con-

Conduct.— You say, Sir, that you enter'd into this new Opposition, *PERHAPS, with Views very different from the Gentlemen who conducted it.* A most enigmatical Subterfuge ! A tacit Innuendo that your Associates had formed some bad Design against the Government, which, if true, makes you guilty of Misprision of Treason for concealing it ; and a Reserve for a Retractation thereof, should those Gentlemen call upon you for an Explanation of their Views.

You indeed, have endeavoured to guard against this Query, by informing us, that they proceeded upon *Facts* either, *mistaken, or misrepresented.* Which is leaving us as much in the Dark as ever ; and not allowing those Gentlemen, who acted upon Principles of Liberty and Loyalty, the Privilege of a Felon, who cannot be condemned by general Imputations of Facts left unproved. But, *PERHAPS,* by scrutinizing more ingenuously into the Measures of that Ministry, we may attain to an Appearance of the Truth of those Facts,

upon

upon which the Opposition was founded; and by applying your Conduct both before and since that *Æra*, according to the Tenor of your own Confession, discover, that, PERHAPS, your *Views* were neither so *honourable*, nor so *just*, as those of the Gentlemen in that *new Opposition*.

If I don't forget, the *Opposition* made to the *ministerial Conduct* in the *late War*, arose from our *taking* the War out of the Hands of the Queen of *Hungary*: Our *Neglect* to secure the *powerful Alliances* of *Prussia* and *Bavaria*: our *squandering* away *immense Sums* of Money in *purchasing* the *Friendship* of petty *German Princes*: our paying large *subsidiary Armies*, to fight the *Battles* of their own *Princes* and *States*; and from our *Mismanagement* of the *naval Force*, which, had it been timely and vigorously exerted against *Spain*, might have prevented that *Profusion* of *British Blood* and *Treasure*, *spent* and *spilt*, and render'd *fatal*, as you confess, *ONLY to ourselves*.

These were the *Facts* on which the Gentlemen in that Opposition proceeded. But PERHAPS as your Views were very different; so might your Facts be also, on which *your Opposition* was founded. Nothing less! The *Indolence* and *Weakness* of our *Allies*, who took our Monies and could not fight: who signed Neutralities, and run away with our Trade: the *rapid Progress* of the *French*; and the Brink, to which the *British Troops* on the Continent were reduced, of *being sacrificed to the Sword, or to Captivity*, are the Facts which you alledge in Support of a *Mediation*, a ruinous Cessation of Arms to negotiate away! the very Points of Interest, for which the War had been declared; instead of attending to, and pursuing the real Interest of your Country, which was to support the Queen of *Hungary* with Money only; and with our naval Power to cut off all the Riches of the *French* and *Spaniards*, by ruining their Trade by Sea, and attacking their Settlements in *America*.

Is not this an Acknowledgment either that you do not understand the true Interest and Strength of this Nation; or that in your Heart you was against an Exertion of that Power, which the Generosity of the People, and the Voice of their Representatives in Parliament enabled and required should be sent forth against their Enemies? Would not those *Facts*, the *Indolence* and *Weakness* of the *Allies*, that consum'd the Treasure of *Great Britain*; and the *miserable Alternative*, to which the *intrepid British Troops* were reduced by *bunting a War* on the Continent; and by trusting to the *Inactivity* of *subsidiary Armies*, have inclined any honest Senator, of less Abilities and Understanding than ———, to join heartily against those Measures, which had drawn *Great Britain* into such Distress and Dishonour on the Continent; and to retrieve her Honour not by an inglorious Mediation, (by which you see we are forced to arm once more, not only to compel *France* to fulfil the Engagements sign'd at *Aix la Chapelle*, but

to prevent her driving us out of the most valuable of our Settlements in *America*) but by a well-conducted War at Sea?

Did *Britain* ever gain Advantage by *Mediation* or *Negotiation* with *France*? Why then was you for such a Measure? Don't you confess that *Opposition* on the Continent was become unavailable, by the *Weakness* and *Indolence* of our Allies? Why then do you *now* join with those, who are engaging us in the very same *subsidiary Contracts*? instead of soliciting the Alliances of those Powers; who not absolutely for *Hire*, but by the *Ties of mutual Interest* might be prevail'd with to join in the Maintenance of the publick Tranquility, and to coerce the restless Politics of the Ambitious within their natural Bounds, so as to prevent their Encroachments and Depredations on neighbouring States.

Indeed you would insinuate, that your Eyes were opened at last; that Reason
and

and Integrity did prevail with you to discover your Error: and that *your whole System of Politicks* was new moulded by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, and founded, since that Event, upon these Facts, — That *France* had no Intention to conquer the *Low Countries*: that the *Balance of Power* settled by the grand Alliance is lost; and that it is, and ever will be ruinous to Great Britain, if she shall take too great a CONCERN in the Affairs of the Continent with her own Armies, or operate in any other Manner than by and for those Advantages, which her own Situation, and the Industry of her Inhabitants have procured her.

This, Sir, you admit to be your *political Creed*: but PERHAPS when I've made it appear that your *present Conduct*, and those *Arguments* which follow to justify your Actions are not only *unaccountable*, but *inconsistent* with this Creed; you will be found to have *Views very different* from a true Lover of his Country.

Your

Your chief Argument in Support of this Declaration, is, The *Connections* which *Great Britain* has with the Continent by *Commerce*: And that the *Reputation*, as well as the *Interest* of *Great Britain*, calls upon her to protect, strengthen, and defend her *Allies*. All this is granted. But what is the Inference? Therefore, *Great Britain* must carry War into *Flanders* or *Germany*; or hire a prodigious Army of *subsidiary* Troops in *Hesse-Cassel*, or elsewhere. No. Their *Indolence* and *Weakness*, which you have granted in your Reasons for changing your Mind before, should deter you from any Thoughts of entering into the like Measures for the future. Besides, if *France*, as you allow, has no Intention of making Conquests in *Holland*, or in the *Low Countries*, who can demand our Assembling an Army on the Continent, To support our *Allies*?

Admit, even contrary to your own Concession, that *Great Britain* could muster an Army able to cope with the

the whole Power of *France* by Land; where are our ALLIES in present Danger from that Power? Or, may I not doubt whether we have properly one Ally on the Continent, that has a Right to expect of us more than we are able to give; or, has any Right, at all, to our Assistance, by Treaty offensive and defensive? Would it not then be taking too great a Concern on the Continent, to do more than we are able; more than we are obliged to do? And is not such a Measure in your Creed ruinous to Great Britain? Ah! but, PERHAPS, you solve this Inconsistency by confining your Argument to our own Armies. A sad Shift indeed! when you've granted that *France* is too much for both our own and our subsidiary Armies, whose Indolence and Weakness exposed the British Troops to Destruction, or to the Necessity of imploring a Cessation of Arms.

A Creed, Sir, should be clear of equivocal Terms. Pray then tell me, what are we to understand by *Allies*?

Are

Are they a People who enlist into our Service for certain Pay; and would, upon better Conditions, have served against us? Good and faithful Allies! A mercenary Power! tied by no Bonds of Friendship; and subject to no Penalties in default of their Engagements. An *Ally* is one, that bears his Part in the mutual Defence, Strength and Protection of another, so far as he is able. And they who should *advise the abandoning such a one, must have either a very wrong Head, or a very bad Heart, or both.* But a *subsidiary Ally* is a mere Hireling, who for a certain Sum of Money, engages, at his own Risque, to furnish a certain Number of Troops. Observe the Disparity! The former has a Right to our Help and Protection: the latter can in Justice demand no more than his Wages. It would be a Breach of our *Reputation* to wrong him of his Contract, when approved of by Parliament; and he has fulfilled his Engagements: But a *subsidiary Ally* is intitled to nothing more: Neither our *Interest* nor *Reputation* can suffer, if we perform our

Part of the Contract: But it must be destructive to the Interest of *Great Britain* to pay him for Troops to fight his own Battles. It is the Interest of such Allies to keep us always upon the Alarm; and the Advisers of such Measures must, in your Way of Arguing, have *either very wrong Heads, or bad Hearts, or both*; because it is taking *too great a Concern* in the Affairs of the Continent.

This, *PERHAPS*, was the Reason, Sir, you did not chuse to rest the whole Stress of your Argument for *subsidiary Troops*, on the doubtful Term of *Allies*; for, though it should be admitted that an Army of *these Mercenaries* can be brought into the Field at *three Times* less Expence than an Army of our *national Troops*; the whole Charge will be thrown away, could you not make it appear that *Great Britain* is obliged by *Interest as well as Reputation*, to take the Field with a powerful Army. Therefore you artfully shift the Question, and create a *commercial Alliance*

between *Great Britain* and the *Continent*.

Your Chain of Reasoning upon this extraordinary Production, just naturalized to serve your present Purpose, is most surprizing! You place the *Importance* of the *British West Indian* and *American Trade* on *ENGLAND'S Connections with the Continent*, and with the very Powers which the *Ambition of FRANCE* prompts her to destroy. Should not you point out those Powers on the Continent that support the Trade of our Colonies and Plantations; and are exposed to the destructive Power of *France*? You can't lug in *Denmark*, nor *Sweden*, nor *Poland*, nor *Prussia*: which are some of the most powerful Kingdoms on the Continent, and some of them our Rivals in Trade; and none of them are in Danger of being over-run by *France*. You can't mean *Russia*, which has nothing to fear from the *Gallic Sword*, and carries on a Trade with *Great Britain* greatly to her own Advantage. You can't avail yourself of the Boors of
 I Saxony,

Saxony, Hesse-Cassel and Wolfenbuttle, or on the Consumption of Fish, Sugar and Tobacco by the Gentlemen of *Hanover*: for had *Great Britain* no Connections with those Countries in Trade, it does not appear by the present Exports, that the Importance of our *West Indian* and *American* Commerce could suffer thereby. As for the Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*, and the *States General*; they are allow'd to take off great Quantities of our Plantation Produce: but is it not their Interest to trade with *Britain*? Do they trade with us upon the foot of Alliance, or for Advantage? What would become of their Manufactures? Where would they find Consumption for the Work of their Hands, had they not a certain Market for them in *England*? Besides, you are so accustomed to change your Mind in Politics, that, I presume you've forgot, neither of these Powers are in Danger of being destroy'd by *France*, whose Object, you say, is not the Conquest of the *Low Countries* and *Holland*. But to close this Argument. Suppose *France*

should over-run all *Germany*; which is more than you would presume to say; Does it necessarily follow that all Commerce with *Great Britain* would be *radically* destroyed? Which Way must the Finances of the conquer'd Countries be supplied? Which Way must their valuable and numerous Manufactures be vended? How must the People be maintain'd? Should the Conqueror, shut them up within themselves, and prohibit all Traffic with those People, by whom they must principally be enabled to support themselves, and answer the Demands of the State. When this has been well consider'd, all that Parade of Words about the *Supplies* for our *Fleet*: and the *Burthen* of our *American* Colonies drop to the Ground. And all that Fustian about *Great Britain's* shutting herself up, within herself, resting upon her naval Power only: abandoning all Concerns with the Continent, and suffering her Friends and Foes to fall indiscriminately before the Power of *France*, will vanish like fading Colours. For, it could never enter into the Head of a true *Briton*

to

to confine our Arms to one Element; when the real Interest of the Nation made them necessary by Land. But as the Glory and Power of the *British* Empire is its *extensive Commerce*, and that Commerce is principally owing to its Navigation, and supported by her naval Force: Let who will spend their Strength and Wealth upon the Continent for Ambition or Power, this we know, by long Experience, that the Nation which maintains the Dominion of the Sea, will be the Sovereign of Merchandize.

What then, Sir, becomes of your Suppositions? You very wisely decline entering into any *Reasonings*, or producing any *Facts* to support, what you know is not tainable. I could wish you had not tarnish'd your Wisdom by asserting, with your very next Breath, a notorious false Proposition, That they who oppose the *subsidiary* and *Continent Measures*, lately entered into, maintain both in their *Speeches* and *Print*, that *Great Britain* ought, upon NO ACCOUNT,

to

to take ANY Concern in the Affairs of the Continent.

This was never insisted upon, either within Doors or without. On the contrary, it is necessary to have faithful and powerful Alliances on the Continent at all Times; which, by mutual Bonds of Interest, shall unite and bear their Proportion: When the Ambition of the common Enemy shall make it necessary for them to arm in their own Defence. Such Alliances will maintain the Balance of Power, and operate to the Advantage of the Allies, and not deserve that severe, but just Imputation of *Indolence* and *Weakness*, you have thrown upon the subsidiary Troops in *British* Pay, during the last War. Don't you think it is bad Policy to crumble away immense Sums of *British* Treasure among the Pusillanimous, and to neglect the Friendship of the brave and powerful? Would not a Guaranty of *Silesia*, &c. to the House of *Brandenburg*, and a Sum, much less than is cast away among the petty Princes, properly applied

plied to the Ministry of *Berlin*, not only draw him from the Interest of *France*, but put the most powerful and politic Prince of all the Continent into a Capacity of preserving the Tranquility of the *German States*? Therefore your Constituents are so far from giving Credit to that *absurd Proposition*, which you father upon the *Opposition* to the *present subsidiary Schemes*, that they are unanimous for entering into any *Alliances* capable of maintaining the *Ballance of Power*; but can't agree to Measures, which the *present Circumstances* don't require on the Continent, and can only serve to exhaust that Treasure, with which this Nation must defend herself against the Enemy of her Trade and Navigation.

As the abovementioned Proposition is absolutely denied, there is no Necessity to follow you, Sir, any further in those Facts which you produce to corroborate the Necessity of our *taking Concern in the Affairs of the Continent*. But to shew that bad Arguments can have only lame Proofs,

Proofs ; let me remind you of the egregious Misrepresentation you are guilty of in the *Concern* Queen *Elizabeth* took in the Affairs of the *Dutch* and *French* Protestants. Was her *Concern* for those distressed People a parallel Case with the present Fashion of squandering away Millions in subsidiary Treaties ? Did they apply to that wise and glorious Queen before they were reduced to the last Extremity, ready to sink under the Weight of Tyranny and Oppression ? Did She hire a numerous Army, or retain the Forces of the *German* Princes to make a Diversion, or to fight their Battles ? Or, did she do any more than supply them with what she could spare from her own Treasure and Army with Condition of being repaid ? and did she not take several strong Holds into Possession in Pledge for the Performance of their Promise ? Can any one, without an Insult upon his Readers, quote this Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth* in Support of those Contracts, which have run this Nation into a Debt of eighty Millions ? without any Caution from those States
or

or Princes, in whose Cause it has been chiefly expended, for its Repayment? And therefore I allow, as you observe, that *her Views were more rational*: She knew her *Interest*, as the Sovereign of a *trading Nation*, was to have no Connections with the Continent but what would *operate by and for* the Advantage of her own Subjects, as well as of her Friends. And in this Conduct she copied after the best Policy of former Ages, when the Senate thought it their Duty to interpose their Authority to prevent the impoverishing the Nation by a War on the Continent, which brought no Advantage to *England*. One Parliament, says *Matthew Paris* † in the 26th of *Henry III.* told him —“ We are amazed
 “ O King! in what Abyfs those immense Sums of Money are sunk, which
 “ your Majesty has raised on the Public,
 “ but have never turned to any Advan-

† Admiramur in quam Abyssum submersæ sunt innumerabiles Pecuniæ, quas Domine Rex immunxisti, quæ nunquam Regno vel modicum contulerunt Incrementum.

MATT. PARIS, 26 H. III. p. 561.

“ tage of the Nation.” They even told him upon a farther Application *, “ That “ they would no longer be plundered of “ their Money.” And that it was their Opinion, “ That his Alliance with *Flan-* “ *ders* was not worth preserving, unless “ he could gain more Advantage for “ himself and his own Subjects by as- “ sisting the *Flemings*.” ‡

I am far from allowing you to triumph over the pusillanimous Reign of King *James the First*, and his Thousands of Ambassadors and Millions of Negotiations. But as you assert his Resolution was on NO ACCOUNT to take *any Concern in the Affairs of the Continent*, which we allow to be as ruinous as to take TOO MUCH, your Innuendo's from

* Talia effrons impudenter postulare ———
contra-dixerunt Regi. in faciem nolentes amplius
Pecuniâ suâ spoliari. *Id.* *ibid.*

‡ Communitas optat salutem Domino nostro Regi, non videtur eis quod sit ad Bonum Regis quod transeat in Flandriam, nisi plus esset assecuturus de Flandrensibus pro se & pro Gente sua.

WALSINGHAM Hist. p. 37.

that

that inglorious Reign, can in no wise be applied to the Recommendation of *subsidary Treaties*: however applicable the Measures of his Ministry might have been to those of a late Administration, that prefer'd the most ——— Peace to the most necessary War; and by silencing the Memorials of our Colonies against the *French* Encroachments, in Time of Peace, has involved the Nation PERHAPS in a long and expensive War, to dislodge them.

Your next Shift is to stop all Reply to your *unaccountable* and *inconsistent* Suppositions. In which you play the Courtier to Perfection. You threaten all Opposition or Contradiction with *Jacobitism*. When it was resolved to set the Pretender on the Throne, the Language of the Court from that Moment was, That Great Britain had taken TOO GREAT a Concern with the Affairs of Europe. Well! And don't you say that such a Measure is ruinous to Great Britain (see Page 8)? Yet it would be invidious to infer from thence, That you are a *Jacobite*. And

till you can shew a Treaty since that of *Utrecht* more for the Interest of *Great Britain*, I can't forbear suspecting your Attachment both to the *Liberties* and to the *Glory* of these Kingdoms; or, at least, that you are far from understanding the *true Interests* of *Great Britain*.

To assert, that we are called upon to assist our *Allies* on the Continent, is premature: And, to add, that it will be neither *dangerous* nor *expensive* to fulfil the Engagements, is far from the Truth. What Ally is attacked, or in Danger of being attacked? Is it *Holland*? Is it *Austria*? Is it *Russia*? They have not called upon us for Assistance. Is it *Hanover*? Ah! may be so. And, if she be attack'd, has she not a more powerful, and a more natural Alliance on the Continent? Must *Great Britain* only be called upon to fight her Battles? Is it safer for Her to trust to an Army of *Russians* and *Cossacks*, than to the neighbouring Troops of *Austria*, and the Protection of the *Germanic Body*?

Is not a Land War *dangerous* to *Britain*?
 Is it not *expensive* to take TOO GREAT
 Concern in the Affairs of the Continent?
 To foment a War in *Germany*, when
 all our Treasure is necessary to pursue
 our just Rights, and to maintain our
 undoubted Possessions in *America*, and
 our Dominion of the Sea? Is it not
 expensive to retain a Standing Army of
 160,000 hireling Foreigners at 600,000*l.*
per Annum, without marching one Fur-
 long from their respective Countries?
 Who has engaged to repay the immense
 Sums which is stipulated for their
 March, provided a false Alarm pro-
 duceth such an Order! And who can
 tell, whether such a Measure as the
 bringing a *Russian* Army into the Center
 of *Germany*, with a particular Clause,
 intitling them to the *Plunder* of the Con-
 quests, may not exasperate the Powers
 of the *Germanic* Body, to unite against
 the Abettors thereof; whose Conse-
 quences must be both *dangerous* and
expensive.

Do-

Dominion, or every Kind of *Acquisition* (you say) is to be maintained upon the same *Principles* and *Means* through which it was gain'd. What then? You bid us consider the *Principles* on which *England* acted, and the *Means* by which she succeeded in gaining the *Sovereignty of the Seas*, and in becoming the *Emporium of Commerce*. And, by what follows, you would ascribe these *Acquisitions* to Queen *Elizabeth's* Care to preserve the *Ballance of Europe*, tho' you are at a Loss to find where it now lies. Now, I would ask you, upon your Honour, Sir! How did Queen *Elizabeth* gain the *Sovereignty of the Seas*? Was it, do you imagine, by an *hireling* Army on the Continent? Was it by paying Subsidies to *indolent* and *weak* inland Princes? Was it by the *Fleet* on *Barham Downs*, that brave *Militia* that feared no Invader? Or by the Strength and good Management of her Navy? Did not *England* thereby also become the *Emporium of Commerce*? Let us trace this *Emporium* as high

as the *Phenicians*, to the earliest Account of Time; and we shall find, that the Emporium of Commerce was always the Handmaid of *Neptune*. The Nation that ruled the Main, held the Balance of Trade: And it continues so to be; notwithstanding the most vigorous Efforts made by the Powers on the Continent, for these hundred Years past, to deprive *Britain* of that greatest of all human Acquisitions.

Such is the Importance of our *Fleets*! But you won't allow them to be *all-sufficient*. For what? To preserve the Liberties of *Europe*. Are we then engaged *solely* and *alone* to fight every Bully that shall disturb the Peace of *Europe*? That would be a *dangerous* and *expensive* Task. We did not acquire our Superiority by Sea; nor our commercial Emporium: Neither are we to preserve or maintain them by such ruinous Means. *England* exerted her naval Power, and when the weaker Powers on the Continent were in Danger of being crush'd by the more powerful; then,

then, and not till then, *England* lent a helping Hand, and always stipulated some Advantage to herself, either in Money or Commerce. So that, we apprehend, that all that is necessary for *England* to do in regard of the Affairs on the Continent, is, to follow the good Example of Queen *Elizabeth*; and our Fleets will then be found *all-sufficient* for those Purposes, in which we, in Prudence and Interest, ought, at any Time, to act in Conjunction with the Powers on the Continent.

The Case of *Holland* in 1672, proves nothing in the present Circumstances of Affairs, when you confess, that Conquests are not the Object of the Ambition of *France*: And the most that could be inferr'd from it at that Time, was, as a naked Person is easily overpowered and robbed by a Ruffian: So *Holland*, in the Midst of a profound Peace, when her whole Power was employed at Sea, was surprized by a *French* Army by Land, unprovided for Defence. Yet the grand
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Monarch durst not venture to add that Conquest to his Crown. He was convinced, that the Policy of *Europe* would not let him enjoy it in Peace; and, therefore, without the Aid of an Army in *British* Pay, *Holland* returned under the Dominion of its own States: Which, in my Opinion, is a strong Reason against the modern Practice of spilling so much Blood, and squandering away such vast Sums of Money, to cover Provinces, which, in all Probability, suffer most from the Distresses brought upon them, by those that are sent to protect them from the Enemy; whose Interest cannot be to conquer them.

But what Need is there of these Reasonings? You have, in the next Paragraph, granted all that we plead for — *There cannot be the least Doubt, that the CRITERION of true PATRIOTISM in ENGLAND, has ever been, her taking a JUST CONCERN in the Affairs of the Continent, and that when THIS CRITERION was abandoned, it always was with Views and for Reasons, which*

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were

were as pernicious to the Liberties of England, as of Europe. This, Sir! is a candid Declaration. But shall it be said, that any *Concern* can be *just*, which is hurtful and ruinous? However, to prove the *Propriety* of those Measures, which you endeavour to propagate, you inform us that *France* is *poor, miserable and weak; unable* to make Conquests, and less able to protect her Trade and Navigation: On the contrary, that *England* is *strong and rich* and in *good Credit*. And therefore that now is the proper Time for entering into those subsidiary Measures proposed for to humble *France*, and to secure our *American Dominions*.

I could wish, Sir! all this might be true. But if we are to judge of the Veracity of the other Particulars asserted in the Characters of *Great Britain* and *France*, by the Proof you bring to keep up the Credit of this Nation, there must be great Reason to dissent from this Calculation. Could it be supposed, That a Gentleman of your known Abilities and Watchfulness in the House upon all
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Money Affairs; whose Accuracy in Calculations of the intrinsic Value of all Supplies, and whose Knowledge of the Funds is not to be impeached; would ever risque his Integrity by Misrepresentation of Facts? Can you, Sir, affirm upon your Honour, That a Debt of *eighty Millions* at *3 l. per Cent.* is a less Incumbrance upon the State than one of *fifty Millions* at *5 l. per Cent.*? what Proportion does the saving *100,000 l. per Annum* Interest bear to a Principal of *30,000,000 l.*? Shall I be branded with Disaffection, if I tell you that you have left the Principal out of the Account? You may call me what you please, but, I am certain, they who set so light on the national Debt; who think of no more but how to pay the Interest for a while, and reduce it from Time to Time, may be suspected of more dangerous Practices. But I hope *Great Britain* will never follow the bad Example of those People, who paid their Debts with a Sponge.

It is urged that *France* will endeavour to indemnify herself for her *Disappointments*, in seizing upon our Settlements in *America*, and for her *Losses* by Sea; and that by a *Land War*. What Dominions will she attack? The *Electoral Dominions* of *Hanover*, you say; and that *Great Britain* is the only Power that can, and is engaged by Interest to defend them. For, *Russia* is excused by having no Interest in the Quarrel; the *Germanic Body*, on Account of its Diffentions in itself; and the House of *Austria* is acquitted of her Guaranty, because she has other Connexions to observe; and Family Interests to consult. Good Sir, are these Principles of Patriotism? Is it Justice to load *Great Britain* with the whole Burthen of a War to cover *Hanover* and its Appendages from a *French* Invasion; and to acquit all its other Allies; and to pay those Troops, which by Treaty are obliged to march on their own Bottom, to her Assistance, in case of an Attack. Are we more interested in the Preservation of *Hanover*, than the *Germanic Body* is? Was it ever known

known that the Emperor permitted any of the Electorates to be over-run by a foreign Power? Do the Family Differences in the Empire ever destroy the Resolutions of the *Diet*, or frustrate the Operations necessary for their common Safety? But after all, be serious. Tho' you may not scruple to propagate Inconsistencies and Falshoods within the Verge of the Mace; don't teach us to impose upon the Understandings of our honest, plain-dealing Neighbours. Can you believe that *France*, tho' ever so able, is so impolitic; to provoke the *Germanic Body*, who can muster 500,000 effective Men, to declare War against her; by attacking a principal Member of her Constitution, without either Provocation, or the least Colour of Justice? It can't be accounted a Part of the *British* Dominions: and therefore not answerable for any Measures taken by *Great Britain*. Its Ruin can in no wise effect the Commerce of this Nation: PERHAPS it may lessen the Exportation of our S——e: therefore we are not compelled by Interest no more than *Russia*, to interpose
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in her Quarrel. And, I will venture to affirm, that the *Situation* of the Queen of *Hungary*, and even her *Family Interest*, not to mention her *Obligation* by *Treaties*, are more rational Arguments for her Assistance in case of Need, than any Suppositions you can invent, to persuade *Britain* to take the *WHOLE Concern* upon herself.

But Sir! you have at last found that there are Powers on the Continent, which have nothing either to *fear* or to *hope* from *France*, who may by the Hire of *British* Money be an effectual Bar to the Ambition and Power of that Nation. I desire to know who those Powers are? whether they are not by Treaty engaged as well as we to guarantee the pragmatic Sanction? Whether they are not by their Situation more concerned in the Tranquility of the Continent than this Island? And whether it is consistent with *social Virtue* to demand more than is in our Power to grant; or with *Self-preservation* to engage in the Defence of an Ally, *beyond*
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our Strength and Riches? For how much soever you boast of our *Riches* and *Credit*; let me tell you that, when our Debts are paid, we have not a Penny of our own to pay our Subsidies. They that live upon the Borrow must fail at last.

What is yet more extraordinary; you grant (page 37) *That Great Britain has an Ally in Germany able to maintain that Ballance, which it is always her Interest should prevail there.* Indeed, Sir, I had been at a Loss where to find this Ally, had you not, by naming his Majesty, directed my Attention to *Hanover*. *Hanover!* an Ally able to maintain the Ballance in *Germany!* Why then does not *Hanover* maintain it, if that Ballance be in Danger? Is *Hanover* ABLE and UNWILLING? Is *Hanover* ABLE and must *Britain* bear the EXPENCE? What does *Britain* gain by a Connection with a Country, which boasts of its own Strength, and calls upon us to fight her Battles? Why then so great an Expence in hiring a prodigious Army to defend so powerful a People! no doubt, but

but we may rank *Hanover* among those Powers, who, you say, have *nothing to fear from France*.

Well! But you have run so far, that I find the *Act of Settlement* flies in your Face. To hear a Senator pleading for Taxes and Subsidies; or, which is the same Thing, for a War on the Continent, to be borne at our Expence, in favour of a Country with which we have no *political Connections*, otherwise than in common with other States, by Treaties: And, in Support of his Plea, arraigning the Wisdom and Integrity of that Parliament, which, foreseeing the Danger of a *national Connection* with any State on the Continent; guarded against such ruinous Measures: I must confess, that I look upon his *Declaration against the Act of Settlement*, to be *illegal*, and a *Breach* of that *Trust* reposed in him by his *Constituents*.

The Pretence, of his Majesty's *Germanic Dominions* being a Pledge for his
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Conduct, as King of *Great Britain*, towards the Powers on the Continent, is so far from the Truth, that the very Words of the Act of Settlement, were to avoid any such Innuendo: Neither is it possible for the Electorate of *Hanover* to become a Pledge for *Great Britain*, so long as it is a principal Member of the *Germanic Body*. The King of *Great Britain* is, or ought to be, so distant in his Councils; so detach'd in his Principles of Government; so different in his Interests, from an Elector of *Hanover*, that it is impossible for those two States to be so connected, as to give the Powers on the Continent any Reason to invade one for the Actions of the other. And, *common Sense* will inform you, That, if the Elector of *Hanover* will religiously maintain his Treaties with the Powers on the Continent; lay aside all Measures that may create Jealousy in his Neighbours, and not presume too much on the Alliance of *Britain*, for Aid in a War of its own Seeking; he will never suffer for

that Spirit which he exerts, as King of *England*, in conformity to the true Interest of *Great Britain*.

You should not have mentioned the *Affairs of the North*, in proof of the late *Elector's Wisdom*, and to support your Argument in the Case before us. The Electorate was not drawn into any Danger by *Britain*; but *Great Britain* was threaten'd with a formidable Invasion, merely for the Concern which her King, as Elector of *Hanover*, for his own private Interest, to secure the Purchase of *Bremen* and *Verden*, took in the Affairs of the North. How can you call *this Concern*, a Means to preserve the Peace of *Germany*, and the Balance of Power in the North? You know better Things: And that the late Elector, not by any Measure to protect the *Liberties* and *Commerce* of *Great Britain*, but by his Endeavours with *B—— Gold*, to aggrandize his *German Dominions*, by the Purchase of new Territories, forced *Charles* of *Sweden*,
and

and Czar *Peter*, to a Resolution of invading *Britain*, to dethrone him, and thereby to put it out of the Power of the House of *Hanover*, to hurt her Neighbours. Thus you see, by your own Words, *Britain* is become a Pledge for the Behaviour of the Elector of *Hanover*; but *Hanover* cannot be a Pledge for *Britain*.

As for the bold Assertion, that our Connections with *Hanover* subsisted before the Act of Settlement took Place, it is very absurd; for I defy the most enterprizing Genius to find any Connection, made by that Act, between *Great Britain* and *Hanover*, except a Unity of Persons; the Elector of *Hanover* is thereby made King of the *British* Empire; in every other Respect *Hanover* remains unconnected, as much as any other Ally of *Great Britain*: Nay, the Elector of *Hanover* might enter into any Alliance for his own Interest, though ever so disagreeable to the People and Councils of *Great Britain*,

as that Electorate did with *France* before the Act of Settlement made it not so decent.

Let me now cast an Eye upon your Concessions, for I am quite weary of your repeated and unsupported Suppositions. — You grant, ‘ That it is destructive to *Britain* to enter into a ‘ War upon the Continent, uninjur’d, ‘ unprovok’d, and uninterested. — That ‘ to take TOO GREAT a Concern on the ‘ Continent, is ruinous. That we ought ‘ to express our Resentment by Sea, ‘ as being the most natural, the most ‘ frugal, and the most effectual Manner, ‘ That there is not a Power upon the ‘ Continent that has so much as a Pretext ‘ for acting with us, in consequence ‘ of our *American* Disputes.’ — You allow, That *France* is *too weak* to shew Resentment, and *too feeble* to make Resistance: And yet, with a Chain of unaccountable Inconsistencies, you represent this *weak, feeble, and impotent* Nation capable of destroying the Sources
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from which we derive our Substance; of reducing our Freedom and Independency; and of revenging herself on *Hannover* for the Disappointments she has met with from *England*.

Upon the whole, I must reprove you for palming the unfair, and unjust Reflection on those Gentlemen in the present Opposition, That no Juncture can exist in which *Great Britain* ought to take *any Concern* in Affairs on the Continent. This is not asserted. *Great Britain* by Interest as well as Honour ought, and is always ready to fulfil its mutual Alliances. You beg the Question when you assert, That no Juncture ever did, or can exist *more* pressing than the present, to induce her to take such Concern. For the present Contention and Hostilities are not concerning Property or Power on the Continent. No Power in *Germany* can assist *Britain* in her present Armament. We are not injured, we are not provoked, we have no Interest at Stake on the Continent. Our Allies, you say, have nothing to fear
from

from the *French*; and if they be so *weak, feeble and impotent*, as you represent them, no Provocation can dread their Resentment. Are these the most pressing Circumstances that plead for a *Land War*, which you allow to be *destructive* to *Britain*? Would not such a Measure be taking TOO GREAT a Concern in the Affairs on the Continent, and prove ruinous to *Britain*? Can you with one Breath recommend the *Marine* Armament, as the most *natural, frugal, and effectual* Means to reduce *France* to equitable Terms, and to maintain our Commerce; and plead immediately for an expensive *Land Force* to traverse the Continent from the north Pole to the *Rhine*, to intimidate a People that are already reduced to a State of Inactivity; that have the Sources of their Riches cut off by our Fleets, and not so much as a Pretext to attack any one Power on the Continent, on Account of our *American* Disputes.

Therefore, notwithstanding you set out with a Declaration, little becoming the
 Repre-

Representative of *Free Britons*, "That
 "you don't think yourself accountable
 "to your Constituents for your Parlia-
 "mentary Conduct;" I shall take the
 Liberty to inform you of the Resolu-
 tion taken in this Borough, That for
 the future we will do our Endeavours
 to find a Representative that will not
 disdain to hearken to our Advice: but
 one who shall be able to distinguish be-
 tween the Balance of Power in *Europe*,
 and the local Interest of the *Hanoverian*
 Dominions: that is not so ignorant of
 political Cosmography, as to suppose the
 Disputes of *Britain* with the *French* in
America can ruin, or injure, or even
 produce a Menace against any of our
German Allies: that will not endeavour
 to destroy the Harmony which ought to
 subsist between the Elector of *Hanover*
 King of *England* and his *British* Subjects,
 by suggesting so unaccountable and in-
 consistent a Maxim, That *Britain* ought
 not to fulfil her Engagements with *Ha-*
nover as our Ally; or to deny her As-
 sistance when attack'd on Account of
 the Measures taken by *British* Councils:
 and

and one who shall always recommend himself to the Patrons of Liberty by a steady Conduct against all Attempts that may be made to load us with Taxes, which the Exigences of the State don't require; or to draw us into Engagements, which neither *Interest*, nor *Justice*, make necessary for *Great Britain*. And therefore, without any kind of *Insolence*, I may be permitted to tell you, That the Engagements you at present defend, are neither *salutary* nor *momentous*; tho', PERHAPS, we agree in the Justice and Expediency of the *Means* carried on by Sea against *France*, and that we could not by any other *Means* obtain *Satisfaction or Security*.

F I N I S.



